NP-785

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THE COMMEMORATOR

Published by The Commemoration Committee for The Black Panther Party

Volume I Number 2 December 1990 Oakland, California

GANG OF VIOLENT CRIMINALS WHO TERRORIZED AMERICA'S GHETTOS AND ASSAULTED LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES

Ex-"radical" Horowitz

In our first issue, the *Commemorator* began a series by former Black Panther Party leader Elaine Brown on ex-radical, David Horowitz, who, along with his bed mates, Kate Coleman and Ken Kelley, had slandered Dr. Huey P. Newton and the Black Panther Party – the most vehement attacks coming after Huey's death when he could not answer the charges.

Not satisfied, Horowitz and his cronies, under the guise of a little known Committee On Media Integrity (COMINT), have launched a campaign to stop the further showing of the KQED sponsored documentary history of the Black Panther Party, "Black Power, Black Panthers," produced by Lewis Cohn.

The *Commemorator* has published the entire contents of his first letter (he sent four) so that his charges would not be taken out of context. We also printed KQED's reply (see page 3).

The unappeased Horowitz wrote another letter, dated September 30, claiming that the documentary "was designed to feed racial paranoia..."

"More than a month ago I wrote you about a documentary on the Black Panther Party, produced by Lewis Cohn under the auspices of KQED. In my letter I pointed out the unprofessional standards which governed the making of the film, its dishonest sources and its propagandistic agenda, which was designed to feed racial paranoia, rather than to investigate and document historical events."

Horowitz went on to slander other leading members of the Party,

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To Pro

2215 Fern Dell Place
Los Angeles, CA 90068
August 20, 1990

Anthony Tiano
President KQED
San Francisco, California

Dear Anthony Tiano,

Former "radical" David Horowitz

I am writing you on behalf of the Committee on Media Integrity, at the suggestion of Lorie Chickering. It has just come to my attention that KQED has funded and aired a documentary titled "Black Power, Black Panthers" (produced by Lewis Cohen), which purports to be a history of the Black Panther Party. As a journalist who has written extensively on this subject and is personally familiar with this history, I was shocked by the dishonesty of the film's producers, and by KQED's sponsorship of a program which amounts to little more than propaganda in behalf of a gang of violent criminals who terrorized America's ghettos and assaulted America's law enforcement agencies in the 1960s and 1970s.

The distortions of the film are even more reprehensible in that they serve to feed the racial paranoia that has done so much to poison the public atmosphere of late. Thus the clear message of the tendentious "history" recorded in "Black Power, Black Panther" is that white America, and white American law enforcement agencies in particular, conducted a campaign of "assassination" against the leaders of the Black Panther Party and a war of extermination against its members. In the light of the historical evidence, the reverse is closer to the truth.

During its career the Black Panther Party, which incited its followers to "Off the Pigs," in fact murdered more than a dozen individuals, including Betty Van Patter, Alex Rackley, Fred Bennett, Kathleen Smith and Officer John Frey. Only one of these, Kathleen Smith, is mentioned in the film, and then as a possible victim of a deranged Huey Newton, driven crazy by his "oppressors" and acting alone, as though Newton were not abetted at the scene of the crime and in escaping from the police, eventually to another country, by his close associates, two of whom are interviewed as credible "authorities" in the film. (In fact, one of these authorities, according to unchallenged court testimony, sat in a room with a dozen other Panthers while

Continued on page 3

West Oakland "Redevelopment" Opposed

"Emergency" redevelopment plans for West Oakland proposed by the City's Office of Community Development (OCD) but blocked by massive grassroots community opposition, will undoubtedly be brought back to the City Council agenda now that elections are over, say West Oakland area activists and community leaders, the plans were declared by OCD to be "postponed" after some 400 residents packed a series of "community meetings" sponsored by OCD in May, June, and July of this year, and a citizen petition drive to demand denial of the plan was begun. Vice Mayor Aleta Cannon said she was bowing to concerns of tenants and property owners to rework the plan. Angry citizens had crowded Lowell Middle School on three occasions to voice their refusal to allow their buildings to be seized up by eminent domain, priced out by rent increases or forced out by demolition.

Neighborhood resident, activist and organizer, Clovis Bordeaux, charged that the redevelopment in question would destroy the low-income and affordable housing still remaining in West Oakland, alleging city attempts "post-earthquake urgency, rather than aid community economic recovery."

Bordeaux charged, "force-through" of plans, developed before the disaster, to opportunize off our communities' misfortunes using disaster relief money in "profiteering schemes that do more to harm than to help West Oakland."

Community organizers who conduct door-to-door canvasses in the areas under consideration say that since last October 18, residents' reports show at least 60% of those who applied to governmental and semi-official agencies for renovation and reconstruction were denied relief funds on the grounds their homes were deemed livable.

Petitions currently being circulated call upon the City Council to deny approval to the plan on the grounds that whatever benefits it can furnish will not be enjoyed by the residents or small businessmen of West Oakland. It also calls for "endorsement, assistance and sharing" of efforts to enforce provisions of the federal Disaster Relief and Emergency Assistance Act, which requires the Federal Emergency Management Agency to "provide sufficient money to restore owner-occupied private residential housing to habitable conditions in compliance with current housing codes," and "provide rental or mortgage assistance payments to anyone who lost income as a result of the quake." It asks the city to do these things "before even considering imposing onerous regulations on home owners, creating huge bureaucracies to administer community development block grants and inviting speculators to come in and 'develop' us out of the community."

The proposed redevelopment plans, begun through city contract in 1988, center on the Seventh Street commercial district, defined as stretching from Center to Cedar Street. Invitations sent out last spring to residents and businessmen in the area called community meetings part of the "final phase" of the plan development process.

The Emergency West Oakland Redevelopment Plan, at an anticipated cost of $252 million, would encompass an area exceeding 1200 acres. The proposed area bypasses the much-publicized pocket of residential hotels which have been at the heart of a recent out-of-court settlement involving FEMA.

City officials and homeless representatives have estimated a total cost of $20 million to reopen ten of these hotels. Not included within the Emergency Redevelopment Plan is the downtown area where the bulk of over 900 businesses suffered major damage in the 17 October earthquake.

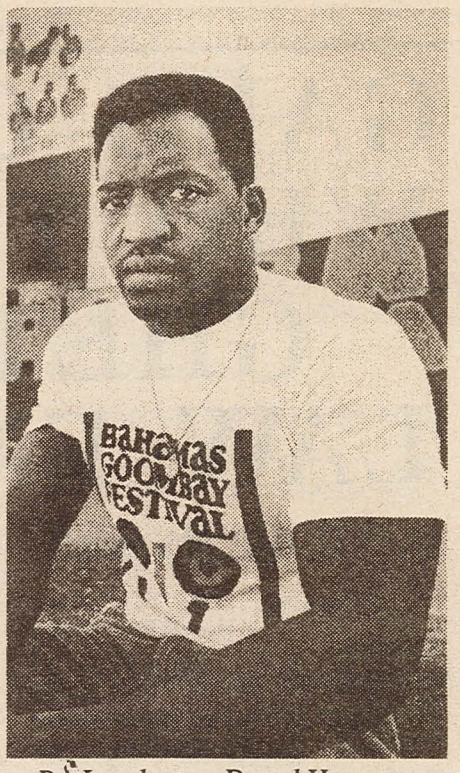
Oakland City Council member Wilson Riles, at a recent meeting with groups fighting for release of mandated quake relief and repair funds, agreed with them that the quake was being used to bypass any requirements and regulations that the city would have had to comply with in order to implement the plan.

The city's repeated "community input" meetings have led some residents to complain that the city was "trying to meet us to death."

Winfield Baggett, a property owner in West Oakland for the past 21 years, and active in union and community struggles in the Bay Area since 1941, and; as a union carpenter, active in remodeling projects and the repeated fight against "red-lining" of the area, said in a letter to the City Council: "We all know that West Oakland needs to be revitalized. But, we the residents of West Oakland believe that we have a solution to this problem, which does not include the building of high-priced high-rises, stores where no one can afford to shop, and 'black cultural centers' when most of our neighbors will be kicked out on the street with no place to go."

"What we need are jobs that people can live on," he said. "We need the federal government to fund earthquake repairs for our homes, through funds already allocated by Congress, instead of funding expensive redevelopment projects which will end up demolishing our homes. We need institutions that will lend us money for improving the properties in our area in the interests of the residents themselves."

P.A.L. VOLUNTEER BEATEN BY POLICE



P.A.L. volunteer Darrel Hampton.

Darrell Hampton, coach of a girls' national champion track team and recreation director of West Oakland's Acorn housing projects, was attacked and beaten by police and arrested October 16 after he asked police officers to watch out for children when they sped through the housing complex.

Hampton, a Police Activities League volunteer, said he ran out of the community center to round up the dozens of children playing outside after he heard police cars roaring through the complex in pursuit of a suspect.

He said that when a police car pulled close to the center, he asked the officers to "take in consideration that kids are playing out here."

Officer Michael Yoell argued with Hampton and struck him repeatedly in the stomach and face, according to Hampton and other witnesses. The children saw their supervisor's lips bloodied and swollen as he was handcuffed and taken to jail, wearing his P.A.L shirt.

He is facing charges of resisting arrest, possession of a deadly weapon and brandishing a deadly weapon.

The "deadly weapon" was a pool cue Hampton had taken from a boy who was chasing another child with it.

Hampton said that before he was taken to jail, he was driven to a nearby parking lot where was told he had "the wrong attitude" and he was called a "stupid idiot."

Police declined to comment on the incident until their investigation is completed, but the case set off such a furor among the residents that they held two rallies in support of Hampton and met with police officials to discuss the arrest and other issues involving relations between police and the community.

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LETTER TO KQED

Continued from page 1

One example of the film's dishonesty, which should be taken as typical, is its account of the events following the death of Martin Luther King, which led to a shootout between police and Panthers in which Bobby Hutton was killed. In the film's narration, Eldridge Cleaver is quoted as saying that the assassination of King led to a "clash" with police. Since the entire message of the film is that the police were racist brutes and the Panthers put upon idealists, the implication is clear that police aggression led to the "clash" and the subsequent fatality. In fact, Eldridge Cleaver is on record as admitting that he and other Panthers "ambushed" the police to trigger those events (Kate Coleman, "Souled Out," New West, May 19, 1980). The truth gives these events a meaning diametrically opposite to the message the filmmakers are intent on presenting. The dishonesty in this film is such that Cleaver, who lives in Oakland, was not interviewed for the film, although his less famous and estranged wife Kathleen, who lives in New York but whose present views do not contradict its political agenda, is.

This film is a disgrace to KQED and a public outrage. The producer, who still has an office at KQED, has plans to use KQED's sponsorship to gain additional air time for his film on PBS. If that should happen this film would probably wind up, as a resource, in our public schools (if it has not already). KQED has a responsibility to its public and to itself to remove its name from this film, to find out how such a travesty could have been produced and then aired in the first place, and to take whatever measures are necessary to prevent a recurrence. We, in our committee, would also like to see amends made in this particular instance by the funding of a corrective film, which would be a serious inquiry into the career of the Panthers and not mere leftwing propaganda.

Sincerely,
David Horowitz

VIOLENT CRIMINALS

Ex-"radical" Horowitz

continued from page 1

accusing the film of isolating Dr. Newton from the "gang he created."

"It does this," he says, "by covering up and suppressing the crimes of the Party that was led by Bobby Seale, David Hilliard, Elaine Brown, Kathleen cleaver, Fred Hampton, Bobby Rush and other 'heroes' it so malevolently celebrates."

He lists a group of "Bay Area reporters" who have made the "true story" of the Panthers known: "Kate Coleman, Pearl Stewart, Lance Williams, Ken Kelley, David Weir, Peter Collier and myself. (I should probably have mentioned in my original letter that I was an editor of *Ramparts* in the 1960's created the Oakland Learning Center, the base of the Panthers' operations in the 1970's.)"

KQED's president, Anthony S. Tiano, responded to Horowitz's second letter with, "I have reviewed your letters and appreciate your personal perspectives on matters related to the Black Panther Party. However, we continue to stand by KQED's production.

"It is clear that you would have focused on a different aspect of this complex issue. We have tried to put the Panthers into perspective after time."

The persistent Horowitz wrote a third letter, dated October 19, stating, "Your lack of concern about the violation of elementary standards of accuracy and reporting in the making of 'Black Power, Black Panthers,' or in the effects that such racially provocative propaganda may have on an already inflamed racial situation is irresponsible in the extreme."

In a fourth letter, also dated October 19, Horowitz, still citing the "racially inflammatory and tendentious" nature of the documentary, appealed to address the KQED board to plead his case.

In 1990 Horowitz worries that the message of the documentary is "that white America, and white American law enforcement agencies in particular, conducted a campaign of assassination against the leaders of the Black Panther Party and a war of extermination against its members." He claims, "In light of the historical evidence, the reverse is closer to the truth."

In 1969, when he considered himself a radical, he thought differently. He wrote in *Empire and Revolution*, published that year, that the black revolt in this country was "a direct consequence of the long-term social and economic oppression of black people, the colonial status of the black ghettos, *and the regime of terror under which large sections of the black community have been compelled to live in the United Stated since reconstruction.*" (our italics, ed.)

He continued, "...*the first-line official response to the ghetto uprisings resolved itself more and more clearly into the armed occupation of American cities...*" (our italics, ed.)

Panther leader Elaine Brown, who knew him personally, sheds light on how Horowitz made his transitional flip-flop. (see page 5)

He "transforms his indictment of Huey to a contemptuous attack on the entire progressive Movement."

KQED's RESPONSE

KQED

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KQEC TV 32
KQED 88.5 FM
San Francisco Focus

KQED Inc
500 Eighth Street
San Francisco, CA 9[illegible]
415 864-2000

September 25, 1990

Mr. David Horowitz
Committee on Media Integrity
P.O. Box 2669
Hollywood, CA 90078

Dear Mr. Horowitz,

At Anthony Tiano's request, I am writing in response to your August 20th letter regarding concerns about KQED's documentary, "Black Power, Black Panthers".

As a journalist who covered a number of events involving the Black Panthers, I was disappointed in the tone of your letter, and your characterization of our motivation for doing the documentary.

Rather than "feeding the racial paranoia" (as you have charged), our program took advantage of the passage of time since the creation of a clearly controversial political group to re-examine and gain perspective on the Panthers' actions, motivations and impact on race relations and the balance of power within our society. To have portrayed either the Panthers or the FBI as a "gang of violent criminals: would have been, at best, a one-dimensional view of a complex and complicated episode. Or, at worst, we would have been creating precisely the propaganda of which you have accused us.

We acknowledge quite explicitly in the program that there were campaigns of violence on both sides. Using commentary from former FBI agent Charles Bates, former San Francisco Mayor Joseph Alioto, as well as Panther members, we addressed the criminal aspects of Newton's behavior along with the "over-reactions" of the FBI through the CoIntelPro operation.

Our intent was not to focus on the violence and criminality but instead to get beyond a "Black=wrong, White=right" mentality fostered by fear and ignorance as well as simplistic analysis. The Panthers generated support from thousands of African-Americans and compelled the attention of a nation. the political legacy of their efforts continues - that the is perspective of the program.

In the years since the formation of the Panther Party, there has been voluminous reporting about the issues you address in your letter. We set out to do something other than reiterate that record. Both the Oakland Tribune (5/30/90) and San Jose Mercury News (5/29/90), in reviewing our documentary stated that we had succeeded in providing a closer and thoughtful look.

We believe that, by adding to the body of information on this historic political movement, we encourage multi-dimensional analysis, and ultimately, understanding. We are proud of this contribution and our association with it.

By the way, Lewis Cohen says he'd like the tape back that he loaned you. But before you send it back, go back and look at the part where you say KQED quoted Cleaver on the clash with police. You'll find the narration says "On April 4, 1969, Martin Luther King was assassinated. Riots engulfed 67 cities. In Oakland the Panthers clashed with the police." This is followed with sound bites from an Oakland police officer who was present.

Sincerely,

David H. Hosley
Vice President &
General Manager

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THE COMMEMORATOR'S STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

The *Commemorator* is free of charge to the general public throughout the Bay area. Its present circulation is 10,000 copies. The newspaper encourages grassroots organizing and networking for people empowerment and community control of the institutions there of.

In other words, the *Commemorator* is a progressive community forum. It offers the community at large the opportunity to help solve some of the critical problems that affect us all. For instance, the lack of decent shelter, medical care, education and employment for all people as well as the pollution of the environment, racism and discrimination at large are indeed real problems that affect us all.

It is generally recognized by critical thinkers that the surest and fastest (and perhaps the only) way to solve a problem is to first acknowledge it — the *Commemorator* challenges the community at large to act in its broadest interest by supporting grassroots development for positive and progressive change.

DO NOT BAN RAP MUSIC

We, Ronald Brooks (aka Money B), David Elliot (aka DJ Fuze) and Neil Johnson (aka Sleuth), of the rap groups Digital Underground and Raw Fusion are fundamentally opposed to the banning of rap music from the Berkeley Community Theater.

We have appeared in and attended countless rap concerts in the United States and abroad. While we have witnessed incidents of violence at some of these shows (we've witnessed violence at other kinds of shows as well), we have also been involved in show after show throughout which there were no incidents of violence at all.

Violence at rap concerts does occur, but facts and figures of this violence have been distorted by the media. The police in Mountain View admitted after the Public Enemy concert at the Shoreline Amphitheater two months ago that they exaggerated to the press the supposed violence that happened that evening. Digital Underground and Raw Fusion are Bay Area based groups. Members have participated recently in youth-oriented projects throughout the Bay Area and recently, at Berkeley High. But does that get publicized? No. For rap music, it's pretty much bad press or no press.

We suggest that before you ban rap from the stage at the BCT, you investigate more thoroughly the practices of the promoter that you contracted to put on the show. Remember, the key word at any large gathering of any kind of people at any kind of event is security.

Controversial or not, rap music is here to stay, and it's time you faced it. These attempts at censorship will not succeed in shutting down rap and/or the culturally aware hip-hop culture that surrounds it. Why don't we try working together on this issue of violence instead of trying to cut rap off? That's the best way, and it is our pointed suggestion.

Editors note: The Berkeley Unified School District has since rescinded its ban on rap concerts at the BCT according to Superintendent LaVoneia C. Steele.

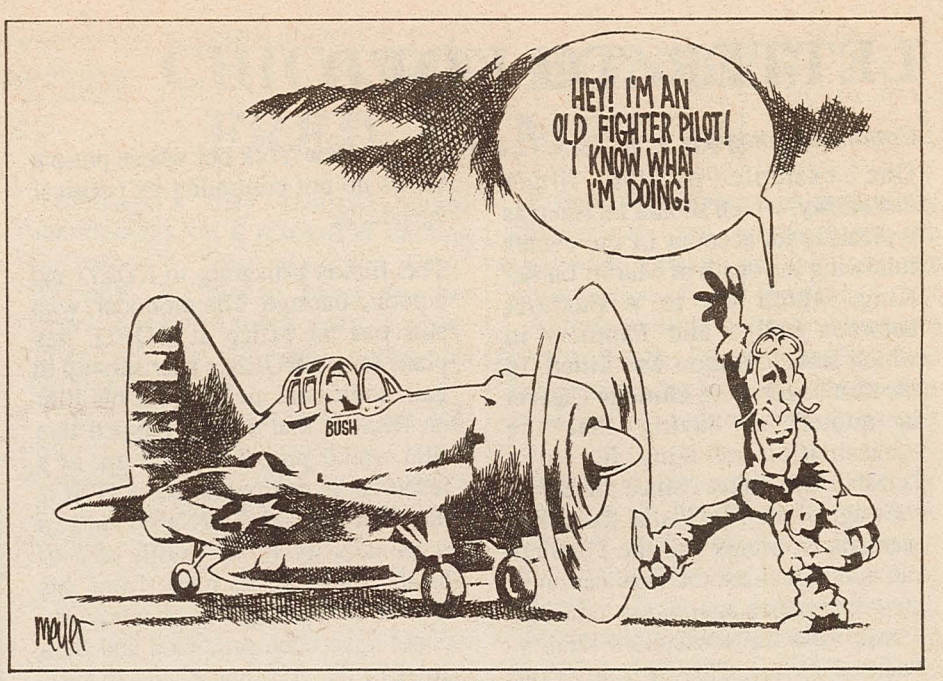
QUOTATIONS IN FOCUS

"When people are poor, black and brown, where workers are unorganized, where people are not registered to vote, there we find the worst pollution and toxic waste." From the Reverend Jesse L. Jackson's recent commentary, BROADENING BIG GREEN - *Oakland Post.*

"To be sure, the vestiges of discrimination and racism continue to be in operation in the school, the courts and society in general anytime 33 percent of a population of black males are under the thumb of the courts." - Lulann McGriff, President of the San Francisco chapter of the NAACP responding to a recent study done by a prison reform group. *San Francisco Chronicle.*

"How much responsibility should the Black leaders bear for spending all of the political and moral capital of Black America during the last two decades on an affirmative action program that has largely benefited the black middle class and created the image that all Blacks are lazy and incompetent?" Tony Brown's - *Oakland Post.*

"If you compare it (the contribution made by the Japanese government) to what has been done by very poor countries in Africa and the countries in the west, again the contribution of the Japanese government has been very insignificant." Nelson Mandela. In a bid for financial assistance for African National Congress' refugees, he told a packed press conference in Tokyo recently. *San Francisco Chronicle.*



LETTERS

Revolutionary greetings:

I must tell you, I'm simply euphoric at this moment. A comrade a few cages down just received, I believe, the first edition of the B.P.P. newspaper. I guess you can conclude by the language terminology that I'm in the penitentiary. My reason for writing has to do with trying to establish an avenue of communications with you. As you know, the department of corrections (or should I say, the "Dictatorship" of correction) still has not altered its racist practices against people of color. Police brutality, discrimination, unjustified penal exclusion (exile) for politically conscious prisoners of color are as common as "Yankee Imperialism"

We need an "outside voice" within the African community to make them aware of what's happening with us. Not only are we under a genocidal attack when we're imprisoned in the African community; the genocidal attack is even more defined and determined here in the prison within. Take a look at what they're doing: all of the strong, politically conscious brothers who have the potential to assist in the transformation of some of the young Africans coming into the system with the kind of politics more commensurate with George Jackson and Huey P. Newton, once identified, are immediately transferred to one of the high-tech penal laboratories. Of course I can't go into any explicit detail about this' as it is, as sure as day follows night they are scrutinizing this letter. As a matter of fact, there's no doubt about it!!!

So, in conclusion, I express the sentiments from all of us locked-down here in the belly of the beast. The "drugs" are no longer clouding our minds; we're awoke and more embittered, desperate, and dedicated to the ultimate remedy if need be. Somewhere in our struggle for

Continued on page 5

HUEY'S CORNER

The original vision of the Black Panther Party was to serve the needs of the oppressed people in our communities and defend them against their oppressors. When the Party was initiated we knew that these goals would raise the consciousness of the people and motivate them to move more firmly for their total liberation. We also recognized that we live in a country which has become one of the most repressive governments in the world; repressive in communities all over the world. We did not expect such a repressive government to stand idly by while the Black Panther Party went forward to the goal of serving the people. We expected repression.

We knew, as a revolutionary vanguard, repression would be the reaction of our oppressors, but we recognized that the task of the revolutionist is difficult and his life is short. We were prepared then, as we are now, to give our all in the interest of oppressed people. We expected the repression to come from outside forces which have long held our communities in subjection. However, the ideology of dialectical materialism helped us to understand that the contradictions surrounding the Party would create a force that would move us toward our goals. We also expected contradictions within the Party, for the oppressors use infiltrators and provocateurs to help them reach their evil ends. Even when the contradictions come from formerly loyal members of the Party, we see them as part of the process of development rather than in the negative terms the oppressors' media use to interpret them. Above all, we knew that the Party would survive.

The Party would survive because it had the love and support of the people who saw their true interests expressed in the actions of the Party. The Party would also survive because it would be a political vehicle which continued to voice the interests of the people and serve as their advocates.

From TO DIE FOR THE PEOPLE, "Statement May 1, 1971."

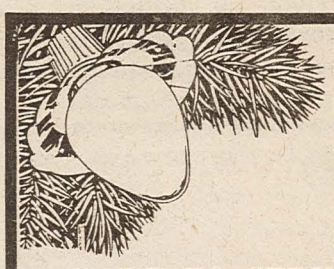
Continued Next Issue

LETTERS

Continued from page 4

liberation we took a recess; and in that recess the enemy was secretly drawing up the blue-print for this so-called "War on Drugs!" We will not let the bourgeoisie sell us out this time for the nominal concession of integration, accommodation, submission, and a chosen black leader to run for president that the American constitution out-right prohibits. We need a voice to the community. Can you help us?

Power to the people!
Anthony Armstrong
Vacaville, California



DARE TO STRUGGLE, DARE TO WIN!

Ellis and Osa White

Dear Friends,

Congratulations on the publication of the 1st edition of *The Commemorator*. Your hard work has paid off in a timely journal needed to be read by everyone in the Bay Area. Keep up the good work! We look forward to many more editions. Enclosed please find our two year subscription.

In the spirit of solidarity and journalistic well wishes, we have enclosed a one year subscription for the Commemoration Committee to our journal *The Freedom Socialist.*

Sincerely,
Tom Boot
Bay Area Organizer

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RESPONDING TO RADICAL RACISM

David Horowitz Barely Remembered

By Elaine Brown (Copyright May 1990)

Shortly after the assassination of Dr. Huey P. Newton, several articles appeared in local and national publications, scandalizing and attempting to discredit the Black Panther Party itself. David Horowitz's article showed up in *Smart* magazine, and Elaine Brown is responding specifically to that piece of yellow journalism. It is also a response to an article to discredit Dr. Newton, written in 1978 by Kate Coleman and the lies written by Ken Kelley in the *East Bay Express* a few months ago.

THE HIDDEN HOROWITZ

By pretending he is not present in his written offensive against Huey, Horowitz lulls the uninformed reader into the lie that his piece is "objective." Adding to that illusion is the use of the co-author's name, though the references to "white radicals" and the like have to do only with Horowitz. Horowitz has actually written a most personal exposition, in which he lays bare his true self, though hoping, like an impoverished Melville, that the world will not notice that he is not Ahab but Moby Dick, the white, man-eating whale.

Although Horowitz hides, he leaves a trail of scribbled notes. For me, there is the most glaring one, by which Horowitz makes reference to me but never mentions having known me. He also does not mention having known Bert Schneider – whom he calls "Hollywood producer" – or Gwen Fountaine, Huey's first wife. He hides these acknowledgements to avoid the question of why he never contacted any of us to verify or *refute* his indictments against Huey. He hides them to avoid having to explain. He hides to avoid having to substantiate rumor. He hides to avoid having to prove himself.

Horowitz also boldly hides his relationship to *Ramparts* magazine, and how that relates to his diatribe. Although he speaks knowledgeably about events involving *Ramparts*, Horowitz does not mention being Eldridge Cleaver's employer there (much less that he assisted Eldridge in his outlaw escape to Cuba). Horowitz chides Huey for "bravado" in connection with the famous police-Panther confrontation over the security for Betty Shabazz (Malcolm X's widow), obscuring his vicarious thrill in reporting how that confrontation spilled over into his own *Ramparts* office. Although he refers to Betty Van Patter as "a *Ramparts* bookkeeper," Horowitz removes himself entirely from the murderous Van Patter business. Horowitz must hide in this instance, for not only does he make the gravest accusations against a man who cannot respond, he unscrupulously denies his friendship with Van Patter, like Peter denied Jesus, in order to use the tragedy of her death to suit his story line.

The very theme of Horowitz's story sounds the rhyme to his reason for hiding. That theme is Horowitz's prolonged pop-analysis of Huey's psyche, by which he ascribes to Huey a "persona" engaged in an enigmatic struggle between "good" and "evil." If Horowitz were not masked, it might be seen that *he* is the one who has struggled with the nonsense notions he describes. It would be realized that it is *Horowitz* who has never been sure of his motivations. It is *Horowitz* who suffers from the torn, dual personality he attaches to Huey – whom he has apparently made the symbol of his own agony.

He cannot allow anyone to look into that mirror of masochism, which reflects his self-flagellation. He cannot tell anyone that it is the "bad" *Horowitz* he is trying to exorcise, the child of a Leftist mother and father, the editor of radical *Ramparts* magazine, the Cleaver friend and champion, the former Leftist who tried for a surreal "radical heaven" and, ironically, the one-time idolater of Huey Newton.

Former Black Panther leader Elaine Brown

In a major passage by which he sets forth his thesis on Huey as a "divided self" of "good" and "evil," Horowitz drowns in his own bilge. Speaking of Huey in dark, sexual tones, Horowitz is exposed. Horowitz describes his "good" Huey as not only "puritanical" and "dignified," but beautiful, "bulked up by prison exercizes...his sculpted body set[ting] off his male model's good looks." To Horowitz, Huey's "presence was mesmerizing, *especially* for whites." Finally, with only an accusatory inflection, Horowitz blurts out of his own secret psyche: "[F]or some people, the experience of being near him seemed to have a palpable sexual charge. Huey mesmerized white supporters intellectually as well as physically."

Having so described Huey, Horowitz must offer that Huey mystically hypnotized "everyone" (*especially* "white radicals" [Horowitz]) into believing he was a "radical innocent." Now he presents his "bad" Huey, simultaneously creating a psychodramatic setting for him, "a world...where the boundaries between violence and good works, between crime and politics are unclear."

It is, however, really Horowitz's world. There, Huey can be said to have made a strange "covenant with white radicalism." There, Huey can tell his "remaining [white] supporters" that it is "time to put away the gun." There, Huey can be said to present himself as "*all* intellectuality. . . [to] the whites who had set up the school." Notwithstanding the lie that whites "set up" the Panther school, it is clear we are in Horowitz's world because only an arrogant racist would suggest that the head of the Black Panther Party made a "covenant" with him. Only an arrogant racist would assert that the Party assured *him* it was "time to put away the gun." Only an arrogant racist like Horowitz would cling to an intellectual Huey but turn on the revolutionary Huey – as though the terms were incompatible. Only Horowitz would have insisted Huey become the two-dimensional poster of man he designed.

The imaginary world of "boundaries" Horowitz establishes for Huey is *his* and his alone. If Horowitz had not been so drawn to his own fantasies about Huey – his "Marxist Dracula" whose kiss was apparently irresistible – he might have seen the reality of the Black Panther Party, of our struggle, of Huey Newton. We were always clear that our revolution would be bloody, not editorially colorful. We always carried guns, and we carried out acts of violence in response to violence – the specific violence of the police and the pervasive violence attending our oppression. It is Horowitz, not Huey, who is wandering aimlessly in that world, unable to define or distinguish between or among the terms "good works" and "violence" and "crime" and "politics." It is Horowitz who has been a divided self, a former "white radical," emerging now as a racist white rabbit who tries to confuse all who enter his wonderland.

USING HUEY TO ATTACK THE MOVEMENT

As a new generation Rostow, reduced to being a propagandist for the Right, Horowitz transforms his indictment of Huey to a contemptuous attack on the entire progressive Movement.

Depicting the support of the campaign to "Free Huey!" by Whites and non-Panthers as the development of "a cult," Horowitz clucks a reprobate tongue at the serious work of literally millions of people. Those who rallied behind Huey represented a wide variety of political and social tendencies. It was not Huey's legal "guilt" or "innocence" that bonded those who cried, "Free Huey!" It was that encompassed in the freedom of Huey was the hope of the freedom of millions and millions of other disenfranchised and alienated people. There was no "cult," but a coalition by a mass of people consciously addressing yearnings and demands that came to focus on the freedom of one man, as he personified the capture of a collective freedom.

Freeing Huey had to do with Native Americans reclaiming their stolen lands. It had to do with Chicanos and Latinos rising out of economic oppression and cultural degradation. It had to do with other people of color and gays and handicapped persons carving out a dignified place for themselves. It had to do with poor people and

Continued on page 7

GEORGE JACKSON
ON PRISONS

Throughout the centralizing authoritarian process of American history, the ruling classes have found it necessary to discourage and punish any genuine opposition to hierarchy. But there have always been individuals and groups who rejected the ideal of two unequal societies, existing one on top of the other.

The men who placed themselves above the rest of society through guile, fortuitous outcome of circumstance and sheer brutality have developed two principal institutions to deal with any and all serious disobedience — the prison and institutionalized racism. There are more prisons of all categories in the United States than in all other countries of the world combined. At all times there are two-thirds of a million people or more confined to these prisons. Hundreds are destined to be legally executed, thousands more quasi-legally. Other thousands will never again have any freedom of movement barring a revolutionary change in all institutions that combine to make up the order of things. One third of a million people may not seem like a great number compared with the total population of two hundred million. However, compared with the one million who are responsible for all the affairs of men within the extended state, it constitutes a striking contrast. What I want to explore now are a few of the subtle elements that I have observed to be standing in the path of a much needed united front (nonsectarian) to effectively reverse this legitimatized rip-off.

Prisons were not institutionalized on such a massive scale by the people. Most people realize that crime is simply the result of a grossly disproportionate distribution of wealth and privilege, a reflection of the present state of property relations. There are no wealthy men on death row, and so few in the general prison population that we can discount them altogether. Imprisonment is an aspect of class struggle from the outset. It is the creation of a closed society which attempts to isolate those individuals who disregard the structures of a hypocritical establishment as well as those who attempt to challenge it on a mass basis. Throughout its history, the United States has used its prisons to suppress any organized efforts to challenge its legitimacy — from its attempts to break up the early Working Men's Benevolent Association to the banning of the Communist Party during what I regard as the fascist takeover of this country, to the attempts to destroy the Black Panther Party.

The hypocrisy of Amerikan fascism forces it to conceal its attack on political offenders by the legal fiction of conspiracy laws and highly sophisticated frame-ups. The masses must be taught to understand the true function of prisons. Why do they exist in such numbers? What is the real underlying economic motive of crime and the official definition of types of offenders or victims? The people must learn that when one "offends" the totalitarian state it is patently not an offense against the people of that state, but an assault upon the privilege of the privileged few.

Could anything be more ridiculous than the language of blatantly political indictments: "The People of the State... vs. Angela Davis and Ruchell Magee" or "The People of the State... vs. Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins." What people? Clearly the hierarchy, the armed minority.

We must educate the people in the real causes of economic crimes. They must be made to realize that even crimes of passion are the psycho-social effects of an economic order that was decadent a hundred years ago. All crime can be traced to objective socioeconomic conditions — socially productive or counterproductive activity. In all cases, it is determined by the economic system, the method of economic organization. "The People of the State... vs. John Doe" is as tenuous as the clearly political frame-ups. It's like stating "The People vs. the People." Man against himself. Official definitions of crime are simple attempts by the establishment to suppress the forces of progress.

CHICAGO HONORS FRED HAMPTON

Chicago's city council voted unanimously on a resolution naming December 4 "Fred Hampton Day." Hampton, a Chicago Black Panther leader, was killed in his sleep, in a pre-dawn raid by Chicago police on December 4, 1969.

The resolution was intended to heal old divisions and promote racial harmony; but after the Chicago police union protested, 16 white aldermen withdrew their support.

The city's 34 other aldermen - 12 whites, 18 blacks and 4 Hispanic - along with Mayor Richard Daley, have continued to support the resolution and it is not expected to be overturned.

Police union leaders are particularly offended by the wording in the resolution that refers to the "assassination of Fred Hampton."

Alderman Bobby Rush, himself a former Black Panther leader, has characterized the 16 white aldermen as "sniveling cowards who are shaking in their boots."

Accusing the opponents of the resolution of distorting the goals of Hampton, Rush said, "Fred Hampton did not preach hatred or violence. Fred Hampton stood for feeding hungry children, providing free medical care for the poor and oppressed, and organized people for political empowerment."

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INTERCOMMUNALISM IN ACTION

by Sagie Govender

Organizing against racialism and oppression in California - a native of Tongaat, Natal, South Africa; I was asked to join with other U.S. and South African delegates in symposium last September in Berkeley, California, and to share an understanding of positions and possibilities of cooperative endeavor in our common struggle.

Before - African National Congress delegates, most, grassroots organizers in South Africa had toured West Oakland. They said conditions rivaled those in the poorest nations of the world. Infant mortality rates in black Oakland are worse than Calcutta, India; to name just one of many grim statistics accompanying fatal poverty, while just across city limits in Berkeley, figures soar by 50% over this atrocity.

The South African delegates were shocked, shattered and astonished at the squalor they saw, comparing the scarred battlefield conditions of Oakland through the decayed collapsed Cypress Freeway area, still in rubble from the Loma Prieta earthquake, as worse than the infamous black township of Soweto outside the city of Johannesburg.

My South African brothers and sisters spoke on the similarities of character in repression between South Africa and in the United States. One added, "Your work here must be even harder than ours in South Africa, because the world all knows about South Africa, but so many people don't know about the United States." Organizers spoke of the similarity of tactics used by the U.S. and S.A. governments in denying rights and destroying communities, as well as of the hope to establish a vehicle of greater understanding and solidarity between our oppressed communities here and in South Africa.

The conference topic moved to the effects of Pretoria's notorious "homelands" policy. This campaign of human destruction has moved 3.5 million black South Africans, against their will; in the government's attempt to push the country's 80% black majority, to 13% of the land. The South African government uses many tactics to uproot the people and deny them their rights to citizenship. It compares to the "enforced urbanization" techniques developed by the U.S. in Viet Nam, and now applied to the poor and minorities in U.S. cities. As reports continued, I prepared a list of the tactics of "praxis," the list read:

Black Spot Removals–where blacks are removed from areas where residents actually own their land, simply because they are surrounded by white-owned lands.

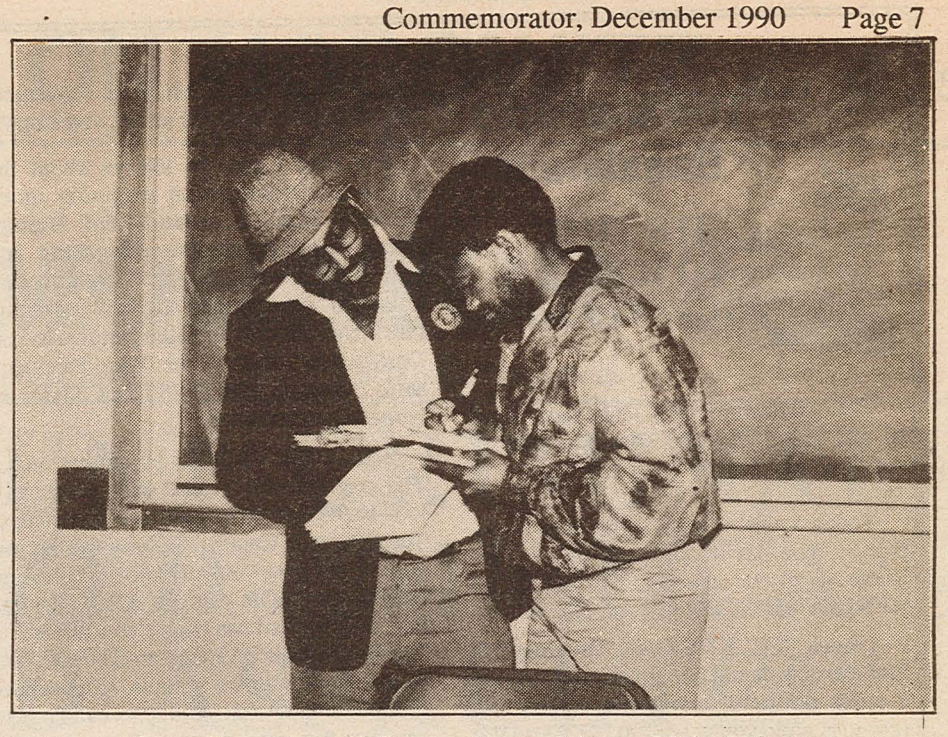
Homeland Incorporation–whereby a community is incorporated into a nearby homeland, thus denying its residents South African citizenship, and the rights to seek employment outside of the homeland.

The Group Areas Act–the law which mandates that different "racial" groups must live in segregated residential areas. This law has been used to move whole communities, or to divide and move parts of a community.

Squatter removal–this is the policy whereby blacks leasing or owning land outside of the homelands are accused of illegally squatting on white land. In many cases, government authorities label residents of a settled community as "squatters," as excuse to uproot them. In other cases, people who have moved into available urban areas in a desperate attempt to find work are arrested and sent back to their "homelands."

While the notorious "pass laws" were abolished in 1986, after being used to remove over half a million people from urban areas to government designated rural "homelands," the same patterns of threat and forced removal continues under different names and different tactics.

The United Democratic Front's formulation 1990 call for homeless people to occupy vacant land is a statement of resistance whereby the people can take a stand. This year's "land invasions;" as they have been called, such as the creation of Freedom Square and Tambo Square, have provided a basis for heightened struggle by urban residents to secure land and shelter for themselves and demand their rights to live, in direct challenge to the Group Areas Act.



Sagie Govender with South African delegate Mpho Lekgoro.

They have succeeded in garnering the agreement from the Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs Hernus Kriel that no dwellings will be demolished in the future without prior consultation with residents' organizations. That guarantee, made in a meeting between Kriel and UDF leadership in mid-August came as a direct result of organization of the people into a campaign to occupy vacant land in direct defiance of repressive laws.

This was a dramatic reversal of the stance taken just two months previously by Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok, when he announced that police orders read "everything possible to end 'evil' squatting and land utilization", which were "a new method to violate people's rights to their own property."

I spent some conference time with leaders of civic associations and rural action committees, active at the grassroots level in South Africa in the struggle against those listed forced removals, including Beauty Mkhize, whose husband was shot and killed by police during a peaceful organizing meeting against those removals, in Driefontein. The couple had moved there from Sophiatown, which was one of the earliest casualties of government land policy. Wilson Fanti, an ANC member since 1952 who was forced to spend eight years on Robben Island, who formed the Mgwali Residents Association which has achieved significant victories in the struggle against incorporation and brought many people into the ANC was also there.

We met with Kobus Peinaar of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers who represents a number of communities faced with enforced urbanization. There was the community of Lawaaikamp where the local civic association took their case for rights to the Supreme Court in Cape Town and won a major victory; a court ruled that residents were legal tenants. I met local leaders from other associations who have been fighting forced removals, homeland incorporations, and abuse of farm laborers.

Recent months have seen thousands of deaths for our people in South Africa. This current situation has been described by the ANC as a circumstance in which the South African government is committed to political change in South Africa, but on terms spelling death for the ANC. The ANC issued a statement stating that, "In pursuance of that objective, the government has adopted a two-track policy which, on the one hand, accepts the need to negotiate a settlement of our country's problems, while, on the other hand, devising stratagems to weaken the ANC and other democratic formations."

That was the position faced by the Panther Party when COINTELPRO's plants and planted letters worked to undermine and destroy the effort. That is the situation faced now by the African National Congress with the South African police contrived Operation Iron Fist which has financed Inkantha, now posing as a "Zulu Party" with the recently formed labor section being funded by the AFL-CIO's African aid section, despite Mandela's pleas to AFL-CIO representatives, when he was in this country, to halt this countermove.

Continued next issue

HIDDEN HOROWITZ

Continued from page 5

working people, Black *and* White, securing decent lives and seizing the fruits of their labor. It had to do with repairing the environment and stopping the war in Vietnam. It had to do with women taking charge of their lives and claiming their equal place. It had to do with the old and alienated asserting themselves and their value. It had to do with Blacks finally coming to freedom, after 400 very hard years.

Horowitz only sharpens his assailment of that Movement by suggesting that the massive support of Huey by increasingly large numbers of people created "an increasingly apocalyptic atmosphere," where "crime" and "revolution" were seen as one. He supports that bizarre proposition with the abominable statement that once SDS (Students for Democratic Society) accepted the Black Panther Party as the "'Vanguard of *Black* revolution,' the 'Left' became a cheering section for violence." Setting aside *the* Left or *the* Movement, there is Horowitz not only renouncing his former friends, but recklessly suggesting that that Movement was no more than an abstract behemoth that promoted arbitrary violence.

Horowitz's labelling fo the Movement as "apocalyptic" is not only a mixed, but a misused metaphor. The referenced prophesy of an "Apocalypse" has to do with the inevitability of a *violent* clash on the earth between "good" and "evil," by which "*good*" will prevail through its violent destruction of "evil." Even looking through Horowitz's parallactic eye, his metaphor is inappropriate to pacifistic civil rights activists and those who marched for peace in Vietnam, all of whom were part of that Movement of social activists. More importantly, in his misuse, he intentionally misconstrues the character and the substantive purposes of the broad-based support within the Movement for Huey Newton.

Horowitz must cover up those purposes, and the fact that that relationship went beyond a common interest in the actualization of freedom for all. At the beginning of the year in which Horowitz claims the SDS statement was made – 1969, J. Edgar Hoover openly declared that the Black Panther Party was "the single greatest threat to the internal security of the United States." At the same time, Hoover vowed to kill off the Panthers before the end of the year. When that threat was issued *everyone* in the movement trembled. In the aftermath of the dirty work of the Dies Committee, HUAC and McCarthy "investigations," and with the specter of Hoover's longtime commitment to destroying the "Red menace," Hoover's threat against the Panthers crystallized the common ground on which everyone in the entire Movement trod.

Horowitz does not allow for such a mutuality of interests. It is one thing to try to justify – *as he does* – the police. It is quite another to create a justifiable propaganda line for the same police and FBI violence that was inflicted on Indian activists, anti-war demonstrators and even on the greatest American proponent of non-violence, Martin Luther King. Thus, Horowitz uses the fact of Huey Newton's sweeping support to dump militants and pacifists alike into his cesspool of mixed metaphors, omissions and denials of realities, in order to fish out an exoneration of such illegal and unwarranted police and FBI assaults on an entire Movement of people seeking peace and freedom.

Continued Next Issue

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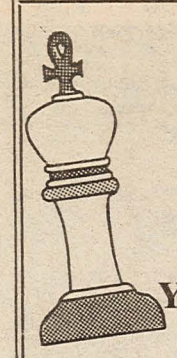

The Bishop's Bassline!!!

ITS TIME TO H.E.A.L. YOURSELF NOW

Hellooo Soweto! Or is it Oakland? Hard to tell the difference sometimes, huh? Anyway, The Bishop is back.

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Chuck "D," KRS-ONE, Brother "J" and Paris were not born that way. To build a solid political, economic, social and religious philosophy, you MUST READ! It is the only way a revolutionary can be aware. With information, your Movement can NEVER be stopped unless you stop it.

But first I gots to tell ya about the H.E.A.L. Organization dropping much science. **H.E.A.L.** stands for **Human Education Against Lies.** Teaching you how **Jesus, Noah, Moses, Abraham and Soloman were strong Afrikan men**, and much, much more. "It's like part two to Self Destruction," Zizwe, the Vice President, said. "This is RECONSTRUCTION of human consciousness.

School will not teach you about YOU. The original woman and man. You can't look to the system to gain pure knowledge. The system is impure. So how can an impure source give you pure knowledge? You have to read FOR yourself ABOUT yourself. This system has taught you WHAT to THINK instead of HOW to THINK. We need to have our own schools. After school schools. If the Asians and Jews can do it so can we. We need it more than any other race! Because we as a people are the most uneducated in terms of knowledge of self. It's time to teach ourselves. You just can't function properly without knowledge. As a wise man named Ptahhotep once said, "He who God makes boatless cannot cross the waters." Now by no means are we a boatless people, but the man has been drilling holes in our hulls for the last 400 years! So to fill up the holes, I have a revolutionary b-boy booklist. Jam-packed with much knowledge.

A collaborative album will be out soon with the likes of **Big Daddy Kane, L.L. Cool J., Queen Latifa, Harmony, Kid Capri, Freddy Foxxx, 3rd Bass, Miss Melodie and the kings of rock, RUN D.M.C.** raisin' some hell again for the H.E.A.L. Organization. Read the books I have listed. Get the album. NOW! Because knowledge is something that the man cannot take away. You can get your chain snatched, your Gazeles smashed and your car bashed, but your knowledge is infinite. Like **YZ** said, **"The mind is a universe in itself."**

You can get these books at Marcus Books in San Francisco at 346-2222 and in Oakland at 652-2344, or the Public Library. If they don't have them you can call Everyone's Place at (301) 728-0877. If all else fails, ask moms, pops, uncles, aunts or whoever you think might have them. But I'm outta here.

MALCOLM X SPEAKS, Selected Speeches and Statements, ed., George Breitman

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF MALCOLM X, by Malcolm X and Alex Haley

FROM THE BROWDER FILES, Anthony T. Browder

THE TEACHINGS OF PTAHHOTEP (THE OLDEST BOOK IN THE WORLD), with Asa Hilliard

STOLEN LEGACY, George James

THE HOLY QUR'AN, The Prophet Muhammad (PBUH)

REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE, Dr. Huey P. Newton

100 YEARS OF LYNCHINGS, Ralph Ginzburg

BLOOD IN MY EYE, George Jackson

NO MORE LIES, Dick Gregory

SOLEDAD BROTHER, The Prison Letters of George Jackson

BEFORE THE MAYFLOWER, Lerone Bennett, Jr.

WADE IN THE WATER, Great Moments in Black History, Lerone Bennett, Jr.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE.

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ON THE RELEVANCE OF RAP

Rap is the everyday soundtrack for a generation of black youth, squeezing hopes, dreams, pain, confusion, anger and frustration into rhymed couplets. Add drums and bass and crank the sucker up to ten – never mind the noise, a person's got to speak up, everyone knows that and, besides, some people are deaf.

"TV doesn't speak to black people," explained Davey D. – aka David Cook – in conversation. "Black radio doesn't speak to young Black people. Rap does. And if you look at the situation that's happened as rap has become more popular, you'll see that there's a direct correlation between the messages that have been put out and how young people have responded to it.

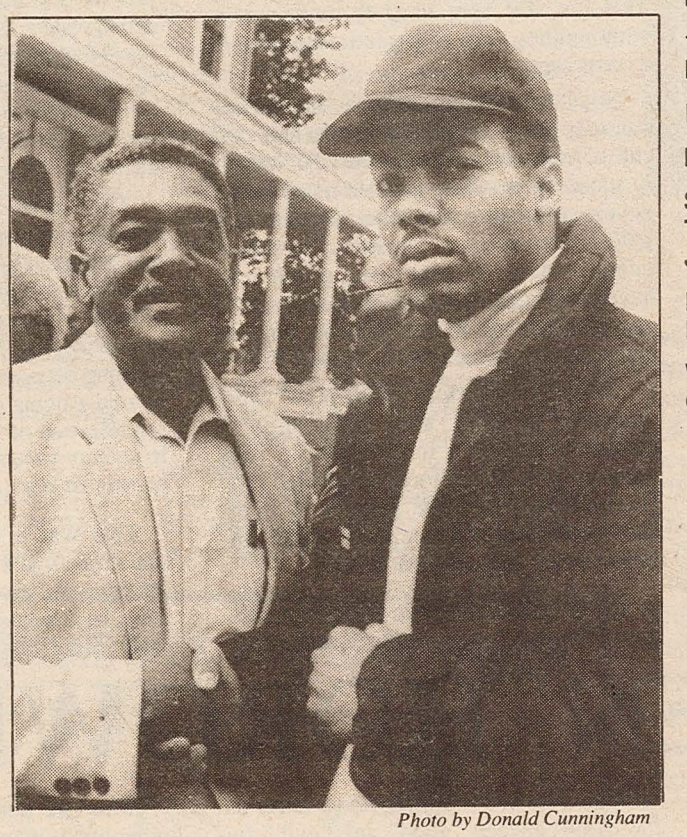
"Rap has become the CNN that black people have never had."

Sadiki Nia is a Berkeley resident who, like Cook, grew up in New York. He's the West Coast editor of Philly-based Hip Hop magazine, among many things, and has strong opinions on all matters pertaining to rap. "You need to interpret reaction against rap for what it is," he said firmly. "It hurts white society to see the popularity of rap because they feel like it's out of control."

Two dogs distribute dope
where it's born
Battering rams roll and
task force swarm
Pigeons squawk with the talk of a new high
Controlled by the man whose plan is genocide

The voice of Malcolm X drops in: "See , there is no in-between. You're either free or you're a slave. There's no such thing as second-class citizenship." The rap continues.

I can't wait
Time's quickly running out
Call to arms
Revolution's in the house
Unforgettable the words of wisdom
Brought to life
By the ten-point system



Black Panther Party co-founder Bobby Seale with revolutionary rapper Paris.

Photo by Donald Cunningham

This is "Panther Power," from the impressive debut album, *The Devil Made Me Do It*, by Paris - who is practically local, since he lives in San Francisco. besides, he's rapping about the positively East Bay Black Panther Party.

"Rap isn't music, it's a form of communication," Davey D. said. "Panther Power" is some seriously provocative communication. The groove is great, and Paris surmounts 20 years of hype to make the Panthers his own, with a reading of the ten-point program that you can dance to. If Huey Newton had been a rapper, he'd be running the show today. Understand that rap is part of the overall fight for equality," Nia said. "The rap scene in the Bay Area is getting hard. We feel that we're very strong with great talent. There is great diversity and, more and more, the Afrocentric views that tie together all the issues affecting the community are part of it."

"People, all people, are struggling," Nia said. "We're all in this mother------ together. There is a real anguish in America. The system kind of sucks – it's not working for our benefit. It's like you try to win the lottery to get over, again and again. We're going to make the best of what we're doing in the community. Black people are coming together; they want to show the strength that's in the nation. Young people are down for the change.

"Rap is the only thing left for young people to express themselves."

Now everybody's wearing the red, black and green
Here's the point - do you know what it means?
Red for the bloodshed, black for the people
Green for the land to be utilized equal
I'm a black man, a black man

from "*Proud To Be Black*" by King Sun

"Rap is very important for young people who have been written off by society," Davey D. explained. "The whole Afrocentric movement is a primary example. It wasn't Jesse Jackson that came along and got people to start yelling black pride. It wasn't even Minister Farrakhan. It was Public Enemy, going around wearing the African medallions when everyone was wearing gold chains."

According to Nia, "It's all about consciousness-raising for the youth. You've got all those youth gangs out there and, before they all get sent to jail, we've got to turn that energy around. Rap music is often very violent because of the hostility and disappointment that people have. It's real. That's what's important."

American society has come up with any number of solutions to deal with its ghettos: remote control; turn the page; move; let's take the freeway, honey, it's safer. Not that the ghettos went away, but not seeing is believing, no question about it. Rap' solved that problem, an unmistakable "Now Hear This" - eight woofers in the trunk beating down your block, over and over.

Condensed from "*Dope Rhymes in a Hard Town*" by J.H. Tompkins, in the *East Bay Guardian.*